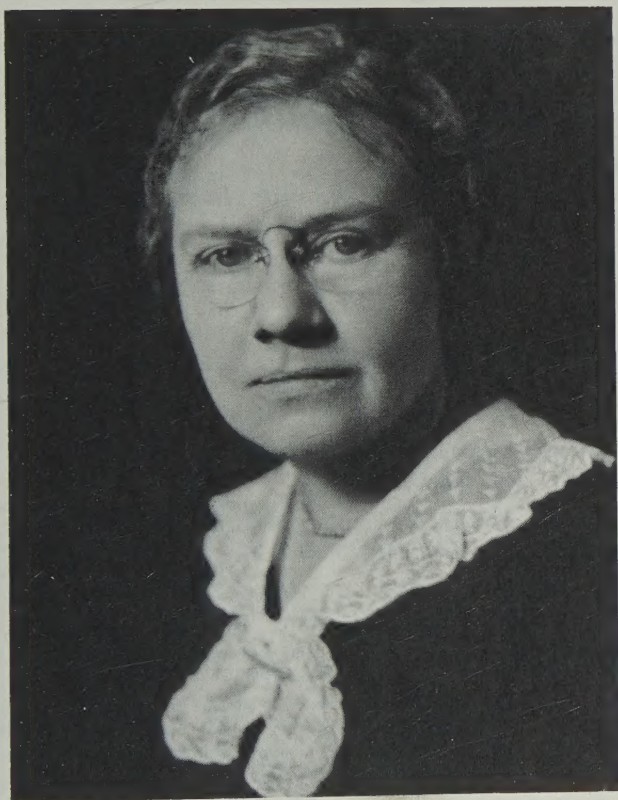
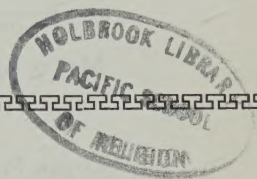


The Hymn

APRIL 1965



RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER

A SERVICE

In Honor Of

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER, PH.D. (1884-1964)

Chapel of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York

May 9, 1964

Three o'clock

Organ Prelude: "When in the Hour of Utmost Need" . . . J. S. Bach
RICHARD BOUCHETT, *Organist*, Fifth Avenue Church

Invocation and the Lord's Prayer

Hymn 430—"O what their joy" O Quanta Qualia
(Pierre Abelard, 1079-1142)

Scripture Readings

THE REV. KENNETH O. JONES, *Associate Minister*,
Fifth Avenue Church

Hymn 354—"Jesus, Thou Joy" Quebec
(Latin, 11th Century)

Tributes to Ruth Ellis Messenger

THE REV. DEANE EDWARDS, *President*
The Hymn Society of America

DEAN MARY L. GAMBRELL
Hunter College, New York

MRS. HUGH L. PORTER, *representing the School of Sacred Music*,
Union Theological Seminary, New York

THE REV. GEORGE LITCH KNIGHT, *Minister*
Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York

Prayer of Thanksgiving—THE REV. GEORGE LITCH KNIGHT

Hymn 429—"For all the Saints" Sine Nomine

Benediction—The Rev. Deane Edwards

Organ Postlude: "Psalm XVIII" Benedetto Marcello

The Hymn

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CONTENTS

MEMORIAL SERVICE-PROGRAM	34
TRIBUTES TO RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER	36
RABANUS MAURUS	44
THE MOZARABIC HYMNAL	49

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Tributes to Ruth Ellis Messenger

MY PART in this service is to outline the biographical framework of Dr. Messenger's life which will be filled in by the other speakers. As we all realize, Dr. Messenger led a very active and varied life which made its impress in many directions. She was born in New York City on February 29th, 1884. One secret of her perennial youth may have been that she had a birthday only once in every four years! She was graduated in 1905 from the Normal College in New York now Hunter College, with Phi Beta Kappa honors. Two years later she began her teaching experience at Hunter High School instructing in the classics. She continued this work until 1933 when she transferred to the history department in Hunter College. Her Ph.D. degree was obtained in 1930 from Columbia University. After seventeen years of college teaching she retired in 1950. This left her free to devote her time to various interests. Chief among these was hymnology in which field she made an outstanding contribution, as teacher, author and editor. She brought to this task her rich academic and historical experience which proved invaluable. We in the Hymn Society are deeply grateful for this hymnic interest which was expressed in so many ways, and which added so much to the influence of the Hymn Society. We are especially grateful for her untiring work as editor of *THE HYMN*. As an early member of the Hymn Society, she carried down through the years a devoted interest which contributed immeasurably to the spirit and the achievements of the Society. For this we do honor to her today.

—REV. DEANE EDWARDS

TO PAY TRIBUTE to Ruth Ellis Messenger as a member of the Hunter College Faculty is a privilege and an honor in which I have profound joy. She had departed from active participation in the college life fourteen years before she departed from this life, but the imprint of her footsteps there has not faded. When a life such as hers drops into the lake of common experience, its ripples move ever outward touching the lives of generations that come afterwards. Hunter College, and especially its history department, are different today from what they would have been had she not been there—and so are countless classrooms in this and other cities where the presiding teacher consciously or unconsciously reflects Ruth Messenger's example of

self-mastery, and leadership. She was a scholar who loved her subject, ancient and medieval history, and a teacher who loved teaching.

Her publications were numerous. Many of her articles appeared in the journals of learned societies. Some years before her retirement she assisted in the revision of Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. Her retirement brought opportunity for concentrated devotion to research. In this period the fruits of her scholarship were almost entirely in the field of hymnology to which attention will be paid by other witnesses on this panel.

She was a faithful supporter of fellow scholars, and the world of learning in this country and in Britain. She was a member, an active participant and a sometime officer of many learned societies, including: The New York Classical Club, Classical Association of the Atlantic States, American Philological Association, American Historical Association, Hymn Society of America, Executive Committee, and Archivist of the Society.

A touching incident bearing witness to wide recognition of her as a scholar occurred recently when a young medievalist from England being interviewed at the college expressed a keen desire to meet Professor Ruth Messenger, whose scholarship he had long admired.

The college library collections reflect her years of attention, and the history department's current reputation for professional excellence reflects the set of the sail established by her and others like her. She was for many years a member of its committee on personnel and budget.

On this occasion I should like to pay special tribute to three of her outstanding personal qualities: her wisdom, her serenity, and her loyalty. Her wisdom was the product of a good mind, a good heart, and diligence in the pursuit of wisdom. When asked for an opinion, she thought about the problem, and weighed its various aspects. She never allowed perplexity to overwhelm her, consequently her serenity often shored up the threatened walls of her associates. I can hear her saying "Now, let's not get excited about this. It is *not* new. Let's take a long look at it." Such advice was a calming breeze, always sweetened by the knowledge that Ruth Messenger was a loyal friend to the college, her Alma Mater, to the history department, and to individuals who loved her and sought her counsel and companionship.

All these qualities were rooted in her deep religious faith and her abiding belief that in the end right and justice would prevail, bolstered by the untiring efforts of those devoted to truth.

She no longer walks beside us in the daily path, but we shall ever enjoy the blessed recollection of her gallantry, her gaiety, her saucy wit, and her quiet mind.

—DEAN MARY L. GAMBRELL

IT IS a privilege to be given the opportunity to speak at this service which honors Dr. Ruth Messenger. No one here needs to be told of her qualities, her gifts, her attainments. They were apparent to all who knew her personally or through her writings. An occasion like this does give us a chance to think, corporately, about her with affection, with admiration and with gratitude for having known a person of her stature. A friend wrote recently about Ruth: "It helps me to think of her at any time." I believe that all who knew her feel the same way. I am indebted to my husband for my friendship with Ruth. He first knew *about* her through her writings and work for the Hymn Society, but came to know her, personally, through a doctoral candidate at the Seminary who, on her own, had sought Ruth's advice on a dissertation and had worked with her privately for three or four years. I know that if he were here today he would want to express his gratitude to Dr. Helen Allinger for having put him and the School of Sacred Music in touch with Dr. Ruth Messenger who made such a unique contribution to the School. My husband and I became really well acquainted with Ruth through our work together on the *Pilgrim Hymnal*. We never came away from any encounter with her, social or professional, without finding ourselves engaged in a discussion of her remarkable qualities and of our good fortune in knowing her. Being with her lifted one's spirits and one's sights. Through what she was she gave a new dimension and direction to life. She had a wonderful capacity for friendship with people of all faiths, races and ages, with diversities of background, interests and temperaments. One of her former students has written: "She always seemed pleased when she met someone new whom she could eventually call a friend. . . . She loved people." How true that was. She delighted in the company of her friends, loved entertaining them, and they, in turn, loved being with her. A party at the Messengers' was an occasion to enjoy in anticipation and in retrospect. Ruth was not one to give mere lip-service to friendship, but kept in touch with her many friends in countless imaginative ways right up to the end of her life.

I have been asked to speak about Ruth's association with Union Theological Seminary. Her official connection with the School of Sacred Music started in 1953 with her appointment as lecturer in the courses on hymnology and liturgies. Her colleagues on the faculty of

the Music School had the greatest admiration for her as scholar, teacher and friend. It gave my husband tremendous satisfaction to have her help in the hymnody and liturgy classes for he knew that no one was so highly qualified as she to speak on Greek and Latin hymnody and he knew also that anything she agreed to do would be carried out flawlessly. He might have said in the style of Charles M. Schulz: "Security is knowing that Ruth Messenger is covering an assignment." She was as predictable and dependable as the laws that govern the universe.

I recall talking with students who attended her lectures. They were invariably impressed with her command of the subject, with the clarity and orderliness of her presentation, and delighted with the valuable outlines and bibliographical material that she gave them. Such papers, requiring hours of preparation on her part, disclosed her continuous concern for students. No detail was too arduous if it would be of help to them. Dr. Robert Tangeman reminded me just the other day that her lectures were "such meaty, solid discourses" that he and my husband prevailed upon her, much against her wishes, to let them be mimeographed and distributed to the classes so that no word of what she had said would be lost. Besides lecturing, Ruth also acted as advisor to students whose master's theses or doctoral dissertations dealt with hymnological subjects. When Dr. Tangeman, director of the doctoral program of the School of Sacred Music, realized that some theses and dissertations required highly specialized knowledge in the field of hymnody, he asked my husband if there were not some expert in hymnology who could give guidance in this area. My husband said that he knew just the right person for this work and from that time on Ruth played an important part in the doctoral program. Dr. Tangeman has said that as lecturer and advisor her work has been of incalculable value to the School.

With the authority and experience gained from many years of study and teaching, with her mastery of the techniques of scholarly research, with her acquaintance with hymnologists in this country and abroad, she was able to direct the work of students with insight and skill. Her knowledge gave them assurance, her eagerness for their success goaded them on. Their project became hers. There was no end to her patience or her interest. She was tireless in her efforts to help and always available. I doubt if anyone ever heard her say, "I'm too busy" or "I haven't time." Her readiness to help at all times recalls Wordsworth's lines:

Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more.

There are scholars whose learning seems to build a wall between them and students. In Ruth's case, her learning opened doors for all who came to her for counsel. There was such warmth and hospitality of spirit that communication was always possible. This hospitality of spirit was evident in all of her relationships, but for students it was a veritable ministry. One was never afraid to betray his ignorance to Ruth. No question was ever met with disdain or impatience but with grace and willingness to help. She could demand the best of students because she demanded the best of herself. Her disciplined, ordered life, her sense of responsibility, her devotion to duty, her utter reliability, were more effective than words in pointing the way. Emerson wrote: "That which we are, we shall teach, not voluntarily but involuntarily . . . Character teaches over our head." Helen Allinger wrote of Ruth: "I found her much more than a liberal education."

I think I never knew a more generous or more modest scholar. She never sought recognition or acclaim. Titles meant nothing to her. There was no taint of self-importance in her make-up, no inclination to talk about or draw attention to her scholarly pursuits, accomplishments or honors. They were never mentioned by her and minimized if a friend spoke about them. It was as if she considered her learning a trust to be shared with others rather than a possession to be claimed as her own. In thinking about Ruth's extraordinary humility, certain phrases from Moffatt's translation of the 13th chapter of First Corinthians have come to mind repeatedly:

Love is very patient, very kind
Love makes no parade, give itself no airs,
Is never rude, never selfish, never irritated.

And the lines, "Love is always eager to believe the best, always hopeful, always patient" express perfectly Ruth's relation to students. She gave them unfailing encouragement and, best of all, confidence in their ability to carry through to a successful finish. I believe that they all felt that with Ruth at their right hand they could not fail! Her interests and concern never ended with the completion of the thesis or dissertation but continued in devoted, loyal friendship. She was interested in each one as a person, in his future, in his family. Those who were privileged to have her guidance thought of her not so much as an advisor but as a generous, beloved friend. Knowing her was not a by-product of their project but its most enduring and enriching aspect.

Letters from two Seminary graduates contain the following comments about Ruth:

It is difficult, if not impossible, to express the warm memories which I have for all her help and guidance in the preparation of my dissertation. As important as her scholarly assistance was, it reflected only a part of the debt which I owe to her. Her effectiveness as an advisor went far beyond the imparting of knowledge in her chosen field of work; she shared her friendship, her understanding, and bolstered me with her courage and fidelity to truth. I think that it is natural that one would assume a Latin hymn scholar would lead a rather ivory tower existence; nothing could be further from the truth as far as Ruth was concerned. She was as practical a person as I think I have ever known. Her interests and abilities were varied. She could discuss the works of Hilary and Prudentius, but she could also cook a very good meal, make slip covers for chairs and sofas and drive an automobile. I cherish the memories of her common sense, her scholarship, but most of all her friendship.

* * * * *

All of these remarkable accomplishments of Ruth's that I witnessed were in her late years, long after she had completed a very rich and full professional life at Hunter College. She had every reason—if she had wanted—to be tired of students, weary of academic and scholarly pursuits, and jealous of her own free time. But she chose to counsel and inspire young scholars at the School of Sacred Music. . . . She reserved no special time or privileges for herself, rather she shared her time, her magnificent scholarship, and her great spirituality with those who appreciated them. . . . I cannot adequately thank her for kindnesses beyond description and for her example and inspiration.

Ruth's interest in the Seminary was not confined to the School of Sacred Music. For many years before her association with the Music School she had been a valued friend of the Seminary library, and maintained her interest in it until the end of her life. Dr. Lucy Markley, who succeeded Dr. Rockwell as librarian in 1942 has written about Ruth:

I think her interest in the Seminary was a natural one. She could not but appreciate its spirit and tone, and especially its scholarly library. The bringing of the Hymn Society's library to the Seminary of course tended to increase her interest. . . . It was our good fortune that Union's library came first in her library affections, as long as I have known her.

Ruth was a person on whom the Seminary librarians felt free to call upon for advice and help not only in matters pertaining to Greek and Latin hymns but in those related to the whole field of hymnody. Miss

Ruth Eisenhart, head cataloger, has told me of Ruth's invaluable assistance when they were in the process of weeding out duplicates and returning some of the Hymn Society's collection to the stacks, and of her help in arranging for extra copies of books to be sent to another Seminary. Professor Robert Beach, the present librarian, has spoken warmly of her counsel and splendid recommendations but wanted me to say that above all, it was her gracious spirit and willingness to help him again and again that meant most to him. Scholar that she was, she kept informed about what was being done in hymnody in America and abroad and was generous in sharing information with those who were responsible for the Seminary's collection on hymnody. It owes much to her concern through the years.

This brief account of Ruth's association with the Seminary would be incomplete if it did not include mention of all the recruiting she did for the Hymn Society. She did not do this in an aggressive way, but through her own work and concern for its purposes and growth, kindled the interest of students and brought a number of them into active involvement in its affairs. I am quite sure that they can never think of the Hymn Society without remembering Ruth.

My husband and I always felt justifiably proud for having suggested to the Pilgrim Hymnal Committee that Ruth be the specialist to do the research on the texts and the sources of both texts and tunes. The members of the committee, in the Preface to the hymnal, expressed their appreciation for her "invaluable critical and scholarly assistance." They respected her knowledge, her judgment, and her perspective, enjoyed her company and her unfailing good humor. I was always impressed by her self-control at our meetings, some of which were quite heated. There were many times, I'm sure, that she had strong convictions about certain texts; but because she felt that she was not a member of the committee, technically, she entered into our discussions, verbally, only when specific questions were directed to her. This was just one more evidence of the sense of fitness that characterized her whole life. It was as if the balance, restraint, dignity, order and beauty of the classics which she knew and loved were blended in her character.

In closing I should like to read two stanzas of a poem by the Scottish hymn-writer, Horatius Bonar. I don't know whether Ruth ever saw these lines but I do know that her life expressed what they commend.

Thou must be true thyself,
If thou the truth wouldst teach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou
Another's soul wouldst reach;

It needs the overflow of heart
To give the lips full speech.

Think truly, and thy thoughts
Shall the world's famine feed;
Speak truly, and each word of thine
Shall be a fruitful seed;
Live truly, and thy life shall be
A great and noble creed.

—MRS. HUGH L. PORTER

THE NAME of Ruth Ellis Messenger is among those most greatly honored within the membership of The Hymn Society of America. For many years she served as its archivist and in these latter years, as Editor of THE HYMN. Her devotion to the high ideals of scholarship and the warmth of her personal faith, made her particularly suitable to serve as Editor of our periodical. She was unsatisfied with anything short of the best but had a heart capable of understanding those who had not been fortunate enough to share her fine educational background.

We in The Hymn Society, pay tribute to the memory of one whom we honored by making her a Fellow. This deserved recognition came at a time in her life when it was particularly appreciated by her, members of her family, and her many friends.

We in The Hymn Society, recognize with gratitude the rather considerable outpouring of articles from her pen in her chosen field of the Medieval Latin Hymn over a period of more than three decades. The publication of her book marked the completion of years of study and preparation. Her article in the historical edition of *Hymns: Ancient and Modern*, was recognition of the appreciation felt by the hymnologists and scholars in Great Britain.

We in The Hymn Society, remember with gratitude her personal interest in the students whom she taught at Union Theological Seminary. She gave them encouragement in their research in hymnody and she was concerned for them as individuals and friends. This was always characteristic of her and this is the reason that so many of us will miss her so very much.

We in The Hymn Society recognized that Ruth Messenger exemplified all that is highest and best in the meaning of a word very much in current usage in the churches. Ruth Ellis understood the true meaning of *ecumenical*. She was able, always, to converse with and communicate with persons whose points of view radically differed

(Continued on Page 48)

Rabanus Maurus

RUTH E. MESSENGER

THE GREAT Pentecostal hymn, *Veni creator Spiritus*, a work of manifest inspiration and a favorite with Christians ever since the ninth century, has been attributed to the well-known Churchman and scholar, Rabanus Maurus. Father Matthew Britt, O.S.B., author of *Hymns of the Breviary and Missal*, considers his authorship probable. There can be no doubt, however, of the influence exerted by Rabanus in one of the most interesting and productive periods of the Middle Ages. For that reason it seems worthwhile to summarize what is known of him as a prominent Abbot and Bishop whose concern for all matters affecting religious culture was so great, particularly in the field of hymnology.

To have played an important role in the creation of modern Europe during the eighth and ninth centuries was the privilege of Rabanus Maurus. On the political side, Charlemagne had united the Germanic kingdoms from the English Channel on the north to the Spanish March and the plains of Lombardy on the south, and had pressed far into the Slavic territories of Eastern Europe. On the cultural side, he and his associates assumed an even greater responsibility, the transmission and consolidation of learning within the Carolingian realm. The stream of culture and education from Roman imperial days had never been lost. Celts and Anglo-Saxons, Franks and Visigoths, Lombards and Ostrogoths had shared its waters and increased its flow. The patristic literature produced by the Church Fathers was another source of learning available to the new leaders of church and state who surrounded Charlemagne and his immediate successors.

Alcuin (d. 804) the Englishman, Paul the Deacon, Einhard the biographer of Charlemagne, Peter of Pisa, John the Scot, Rabanus Maurus and many others were drawn into the group of scholars who contributed through their studies, writings and the founding of cultural centers, to the new learning of the age.

Magnentius Rabanus Maurus was born about 780 at Mainz, was a child at the time of Charlemagne's conquests, lived to see his imperial rule, 800-814, and that of his son, Louis the Pious, 814-840, and survived the civil wars which ended in the Peace of Verdun, 843. He died in 856, Archbishop of Mainz, the city of his birth.

The monastery of Fulda with its school of liberal arts had been established under Boniface, 680-754, when the church was organized in Germany. Here Rabanus received his first training in classical

studies. A promising youth, already ordained as deacon, he was sent by Ratgar, Abbot of Fulda, to the school of Alcuin at Tours for the higher education of that day. Alcuin was drawn to his pupil Rabanus and named him for Maurus, St. Benedict's well-loved pupil. His name Magnentius seems to have been lost. At Tours he shared the humanistic, philosophical and theological studies which made the school the most famous of that period. One might say that by the time he returned to Fulda as instructor and later head of the monastic school, he possessed a wide acquaintance with the Biblical text and its annotations, the works of the Fathers, the writings of Bede in England and of Isidore of Seville in Spain and numerous others, beside his knowledge of classical literature. He had, like Aristotle, a command of the available information of his day. Although this period of his life was devoted to the acquisition of Latin studies, Rabanus, German born, was German by temperament, industry and appreciation of the cultural possibilities of the German vernacular.

From 822-842 he was Abbot of Fulda, a man at the height of his powers. Outwardly, Fulda gained buildings, churches, oratories and the new arts in mosaic and decoration. Within, the life of the Abbey was richer by accessions to the library, by a revival of preaching especially in the vernacular and by a circle of pupils who stood in the same relationship to Rabanus that he had to Alcuin, among them Lupus, Walafrid, Gottschalk, Otfried and Rudolf who became his biographer. In 842 he retired to Petersburg during the civil wars between Lothar and Louis the German. After the Peace of Verdun, however, he was made Archbishop of Mainz, an evidence not only of royal favor but of his great repute in Germany.

As a writer, Rabanus undertook to hand on, through excerpts, the knowledge of his predecessors. He wrote commentaries on the Bible, discussed ecclesiastical organization, and discipline, theology, liturgy and worship and the liberal arts. His complete works which fill six volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* include, among others, *De universo*, a compilation of encyclopedic knowledge based on Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae in sacram scripturam*, *De institutione clericorum* and *De computo* which represents his interest in special subjects of the curriculum. He undertook translations into German with the collaboration of Walafrid and a Latin-German glossary for the Scriptures. In connection with worship he became interested in the Latin hymns which were rapidly spreading through western Europe. Rabanus had written his *Commentaria in cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur* and in his *De clericorum institutione* he devoted a section to hymns. Here he discussed the Psalms as hymns and then the hymns of Hilary

and Ambrose, saying of the Ambrosian hymns, *cuius celebritatis devotio dehinc per totius occidentis ecclesias observatur*. We know from other evidence that he was acquainted also with the hymns of Sedulius, Fortunatus, Columba and Bede. It seems almost certain that he practiced the art of poetry although we are restricted to a very small remnant of verse conceded to be his.

The hymns of Rabanus Maurus, as edited by Clemens Blume in volume fifty of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, are twenty-seven in number. They are based on a seventeenth century authority since manuscript evidence is almost entirely lacking. Blume includes two metrical prayers in this number and four poems admitted to be doubtful. Of the remainder, only two hymns are regarded as authentic by Dümmler who edited the Latin poetry of the Carolingian era. With so unpromising a collection of sources, it would seem improbable that they could be made to yield important information. It is impossible to prove authorship without the necessary manuscript evidence even when the probabilities strengthen that position. Buttressed by all these qualifications, Blume admits that the hymns in question may have been written by Rabanus and with this understanding they are presented here.

From the metrical point of view the hymns are varied. Elegiacs, sapphics and other classical meters affected by the Carolingian poets are used with accuracy and skill. The *Versus more litaniae facti*, beginning *Arbiter omnitenens*, is written in elegiacs. The sapphic meter is employed in the hymn for St. John Baptist, *Praeco praeclarus sacer et propheta*. The Ambrosian meter is followed in an Epiphany hymn, *Christus redemptor plebium*, which is known to have been sung at Fulda, and in *Veni creator spiritus* long associated with the name of Rabanus. Trochaic meters are also present, especially the line of fifteen syllables, divided into eight and seven, already familiar in the *Pange lingua gloriosi* of Fortunatus and destined to become so popular in later Latin hymns. This is illustrated in a Nativity processional of fifteen stanzas appearing in a manuscript from St. Gall.

- R. Christo nato, rege magno
totus orbis gaudeat.
1. Lumen clarum rite fulget
orto magno sidere,
Quod per totum splendet orbem
umbras noctis aufugans.
2. Dux de Iuda, quem propheta
olim iam praedixerat,

Laetus nobis, ecce, venit
 Bethlem nascens inclita.
 (A.H. 50. 186)

Festival themes prevail either for the seasonal feasts or for saints' days. Both hymns chosen by Dümmler as authentic are from the latter group. The first honors St. Boniface, founder of Fulda, *Inclita sanctorum cum gloria crescit ubique*. It is lengthy and ponderous but devoted to a theme upon which, quite evidently, the poet would linger. The services of the Saint to the Franks, Frisians and Saxons, in the transmission of truth and knowledge, were gladly recounted by one whose life was devoted to the same end. The second hymn, *O victores gloriosi*, for Sts. Marcellinus and Peter, is a processional honoring two Roman martyrs of 304 whose relics are said to have been taken to Frankfort some centuries later. It contains that rare word *hymnista*, a singer of hymns, which Rabanus might have learned from Bede or from the Mozarabic hymnal.

13. Hoc hymnista carmen offert
 pauper vobis, martyres,
 Qualecumque sit, tenere
 servus vester obtulit.
 (A.H. 50. 203)

A hymn for many martyrs, *Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia*, which is known in a variety of tenth century manuscripts, reveals in Blume's opinion, the influence of Eugene of Toledo, a Spanish poet and hymn writer. Here, the author whether Rabanus or not, uses the same literary resources.

Critics of Rabanus have dismissed his hymns as mediocre and lacking in interest, generously supplied with borrowings from former poets. This was his peculiar role, to be the transmitter, not the creator of a new literature. The unknown author of these hymns did just what Rabanus did in his prose writings and this fact has helped to prove their authenticity. Rabanus was primarily a great teacher. *Primus praeceptor Germaniae*, and not a creative artist. These disparate gifts are rarely found in one individual and certainly not in him.

Perhaps we should interpret his hymns in another way, picturing to ourselves the Abbot of Fulda desiring for its liturgical rites the ornament of the new hymnic treasures coming so swiftly into the vogue of the ninth century. New breviary hymns were appearing. The sequence was even at the moment on its way to St. Gall and German-speaking lands. The processional was already in use. Perhaps this is the reason why the hymns were written for festivals since Fulda, in

common with all the great monastic centers, was experiencing the contemporary revival of liturgical music and singing which had reacted so strongly upon the development of the Latin hymn. Rabanus may have written in the new medium with the same zeal and with the same goal which moved him to supply the text books and commentaries needful for his students and clergy.

Of all the hymns considered by the editors, *Veni creator Spiritus* has alone survived into the modern age. If Rabanus is truly the author, the learned works produced by this great medieval thinker have passed from modern culture while the word of poetic inspiration is still vital. If untrue, the hymn is just as securely a treasure of religious thought. Here the controversy must rest.

(Continued from Page 43)

from her own without yielding her own principles but always with graciousness of spirit which broke down any artificial barriers.

We in The Hymn Society feel that Ruth Messenger was granted the privilege of knowing that her work and service would come to its conclusion, and, in typical manner, she meticulously prepared for that time. Those who must assume the leadership which she so magnificently carried forward, can only be grateful.

We in The Hymn Society know that beneath her life and work was the sustaining power of her personal faith. She was devoted to her church and she was nurtured by the prayers in its devotional treasury. No more fitting prayer might be read by us than these words which were well known to her:

Teach us to understand, and with glad
 hearts to obey,
 Thy will concerning us;
 Knowing that without Thee there can be
 at the last no success and with Thee
 no failure. Amen.

—REV. GEORGE LITCH KNIGHT

The Mozarabic Hymnal

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER

This study offers a description and analysis of the Latin hymns used in medieval Spain before 1085. Characteristic usage is emphasized and the reflection of contemporary literary traditions and religious interests is shown in order to bring the Hymnal into its historical perspective. The study is based upon Hymnodia Gotica, Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des altspanischen Ritus, edited by Clemens Blume, S.J. in the 27th volume of the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi (Leipzig, 1897). We reprint this with the kind permission of the American Philological Association.

SPAIN," says a noted historian of the Spanish church, "the land of bees and candles, is also the land of hymns."¹ Yet little attention has been given to this field by scholars, lay or clerical. The larger and more important aspects of the Mozarabic Rite have claimed their interest while the hymnody has been neglected, except for editorial comment. It would be presumptuous and quite unnecessary to discuss these larger questions here or to introduce the subject of the Mozarabic liturgy of the Mass which lies entirely without the scope of this paper.²

Mozarabic is a term applied to the Christian inhabitants of Spain under Moslem rule and also to the rites of the Christian Church prevailing throughout the Visigothic and Moslem periods to the year 1089 when the Roman Rite finally replaced them.

In the sixteenth century after 400 years of obscurity the Mozarabic service books were brought to light and published under the editorship of Alphonzo Ortiz by command of Cardinal Ximenes, the mighty reformer and distinguished humanist of the Spanish Church.³ Papal sanction was given to this enterprise which resulted in the restoration of the services in the Mozarabic Chapel of the Cathedral of Toledo. Again, in the eighteenth century with papal approval new editions appeared, namely Alexander Lesley's *Missale mixtum* and Lorenzana's *Missa Gothicum* and *Breviarium Gothicum*, later reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.⁴ Other scholars, especially of the Benedictine Order, were active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the present century the work has been successfully continued.⁵

A closer examination of Mozarabic hymn sources must supplement this hasty sketch of the more inclusive editions of the service books. In the introduction of the 27th volume of the *Analecta Hymnica* Blume reviews the progress made in editing the Mozarabic hymns from the time of Ortiz to his own. Setting aside previous research, he went

back to original hymn sources, seeking in the extant manuscripts from Madrid, Toledo, Silos, and elsewhere hymn texts for collation. The total number of hymns in all sources was found to be 312, which Blume listed by manuscripts and alphabetically as a whole. Of these he has edited 210 hymns which he names Mozarabic. Twenty-five hymns are edited for the first time.⁶ It becomes apparent that Blume's edition supersedes all previous ones and remains the standard today. The Spanish scholar, Dom J. Perez de Urbel, has since published a series of articles on Mozarabic hymns devoted chiefly to problems of history, dating, and authorship. He has commented briefly on some seventy-five hymns with very original suggestions based upon internal evidence.⁷

The collection as a whole is made up of two parts, (1) hymns written expressly for liturgical purposes by Mozarabic authors and (2) hymns derived from the works of Prudentius or borrowed from some other source, and those written for festivals established after 1089. The presence of the second group of borrowed hymns in the actual manuscripts should be kept in mind if one is to understand fully the contents of the Hymnal. All hymnody of the early medieval centuries derived its inspiration chiefly from Ambrose (340-397). His authentic hymns were widely diffused and freely imitated. Twelve appear in the Spanish Hymnal.⁸ Hymns produced by the Spanish-born poet Prudentius (348-405?) were not only a source of supply but a tradition for a host of subsequent imitators. Thirty-seven hymns were drawn from the poetic stores of his *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*. The acrostic poem of Sedulius (fifth century), *A solis ortus cardine* was broken up into six parts for as many hymns. Fortunatus is represented by his *Pange lingua gloriōsi proelium certaminis*. In addition to those by known authors many anonymous hymns occur, produced directly for the rites—hymns which convey, so to speak, the flavor of Spanish hymnody. Dom Cabrol speaks somewhat disparagingly of these writers, regarding their work as rather mediocre in comparison with that which was adopted from elsewhere.⁹ The validity of this opinion may be tested by what follows, although only a small number of representative hymns can be selected for consideration in this paper.

Variety of arrangement in the manuscripts made it necessary to print the hymns in some definite order. Blume therefore adopted the familiar classifications *Proprium de tempore*, *Commune de tempore*, *Proprium de sanctis*, and *Commune sanctorum*, adding the final group, *In variis occasionibus*. As an introduction to the whole he selected the *Prologus hymnorum* which serves a similar purpose in a tenth-century manuscript of Toledo.

Prologus Hymnorum

Miracula primaeva hymnorum modula clara
 Angelica prompserunt nascente Domino ora,
 Uidelicet paucis infusa caelitus dona
 Resumeret terrestris pastorum acies visa.

(A.H. 27.61)¹⁰

With this opening stanza the poet introduces his theme, the history and meaning of Christian hymnology. The song of the angels heard by shepherds at the birth of Jesus is to be echoed by men. In the old order the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace voiced the praise of God by all creation.¹¹ The Redeemer with his disciples had sung the Passover hymn. Paul had exhorted his followers to holy song. Hilary and Ambrose augmented his teachings. In hymns the worshipper sets forth the glory of God, the triumphs of the martyrs, the praise of the Trinity, and the beauty of the church, and, finally, pays his vows in purity of devotion. The acrostic, *Mauricus obstante Veraniano edidit*, which emerges in the first stanza may or may not reveal the authorship. In any case, the poet has well expressed the spirit and intention of the liturgists who were responsible for the hymnology of the church in Spain.

Proprium de Tempore¹²

Turning to the hymns in this section, one is impressed by their obvious antiquity. It should be recalled that manuscripts containing hymn cycles used in monastic worship are the chief source of information concerning early Latin medieval hymns. Two groups emerge from the collation of the lists, the old cycle prior to the ninth century and the ninth-century cycle.¹³ The full debt of the Mozarabic Hymnal to this source will appear later. In the section now being considered, the former cycle has contributed three hymns, and the latter, one. A. S. Walpole, whose edition of *Early Latin Hymns* is based upon the most careful scholarship, has published eleven others dating from the seventh century which appear in the Mozarabic Breviary.¹⁴ With the addition of thirty-four hymns by known authors from the fourth to the sixth century, we have in the *Proprium de tempore* a total of forty-nine which originated in the early part of the Middle Ages. Of the remaining thirty-three, thirteen appear for the first time in the Ortiz edition of 1502 and in no other source, a fact which by no means precludes their prior composition, for accurate dating by manuscripts is impossible. The others must be dated tentatively by their appearance in tenth- or eleventh-century sources. The same general method of dating

Mozarabic hymns holds good for the other sections of the Hymnal and will be omitted hereafter except for specific points.

The season of Advent, which opens the church year, had six Sundays in the Mozarabic rites so that the feast of St. Acisclus and his companions on November 17th might conflict with early offices of the season. The festival hymn begins thus:

Gaudete, flores martyrum,
Salvete, plebes gentium,
Visum per astra mittite,
Sperate signum gloriae. (A.H. 27.63)

The poet makes no specific mention of the martyrs but develops the Advent theme with concepts familiar to the season, especially the star of Bethlehem. The hymn is interesting, however, as an illustration of the pervading influence of Prudentius in Spanish hymnody. The opening line is reminiscent of *Salvete flores martyrum*, a cento from *Cathemerinon XII* in which Prudentius mourns the tragic fate of the Holy Innocents.¹⁵

The Feast of the Circumcision inspired the following hymn.

Sacer octavarum dies
hodiernum rutilat,
Quo secundum carnem Christus
circumcisis traditur,
Patri, non adoptione,
coæternus genere. (A.H. 27.67)

It corresponds closely to the thought of the feast and may be identified as a Mozarabic hymn because it is interwoven with the text of the rite. To those interested in the history of the Spanish Church, the fifth and sixth lines are significant as a definite repudiation of the adoptionist heresy which menaced the church in Spain in the eighth century.¹⁶

Interpolated stanzas of Mozarabic origin are often found in borrowed hymns. This is the case with *O lux, beata trinitas* (A.H. 27.72), a vesper hymn from the ninth-century cycle, sometimes attributed to Ambrose. Three stanzas are placed between the two original ones to form an Epiphany hymn, the line *Iam noctis tempus advenit* opening the second stanza. As an imitation of the style of Ambrose, it illustrates the great influence exerted in Spain by the Father of Latin hymns.

The hymn for the first Sunday in Lent, *Alleluia piis edite laudibus* (A.H. 27.74), is not only authentic but widely used in hymnals of the tenth and later centuries outside of Spain. It was the custom in the Mozarabic rites to discontinue the use of the *Alleluia* during Lent after the first Sunday, so that the hymn marks the final *Alleluia* at

the entrance to the season of fasting.¹⁷ The thought is inspiring and the smooth and swift-flowing Sapphic verses produce an effect of eagerness and joy.

Two vesper hymns, also for the Lenten season, are conspicuous for their clear and realistic versions of Biblical narratives. The first *Auctor luminis, filius virginis* (A.H. 27.79), recounts the miraculous healing of the man born blind, and the second, *Christe immense, dominator sancte* (A.H. 27.80), the raising of Lazarus. Many similarities point to a common author who seems to share the ability of the most ancient hymn-writers to reproduce with extraordinary fidelity the Gospel account in verse.

Not only Biblical narratives but the lives of saints and martyrs are treated by the Spanish poets in the same objective fashion, as later illustrations will make clear. Were it not for the fact that early Latin hymns in general exhibit only the rarest instances of mystic devotion but are almost uniformly of the objective type, it would be tempting to see in many poets of the Hymnal forerunners of the literary realist in Spain. With this caution, it may be permissible to assume that this treatment of poetical themes was congenial to the mind of Spanish hymn-writers.

A Palm Sunday hymn, *Vocaris ad vitam, sacrum Dei genus* (A.H. 27.85), is cast in the form of a divine appeal to men. There is no mention of the events commemorated by the feast, but the poet may have had in mind the prophecy, "Behold thy King cometh unto thee," which is quoted in the Gospel narrative (Matthew 21:5). The Mozarabic collection does not contain a processional hymn for the occasion, although the Palm Sunday procession and blessing of palms were observed from the seventh century in Spain, which was perhaps the first country in western Europe to adopt these ceremonies.¹⁸

One of the most interesting hymns edited for the first time by Blume, *Dulce carmen lingua promat, dulce melos personet* (A.H. 27.90-96), celebrates the Day of the Holy Cross. It is found in two Spanish manuscripts, and twice elsewhere in one version. Blume offers a reconstructed text of twenty-two stanzas which recounts the legend of the discovery of the true cross by St. Helena. Similar in subject and treatment to the narratives of saints and martyrs in the *Proprium de sanctis*, it is better appreciated if considered in connection with such hymns.

The hymn-writers of Spain with their gift for realism were capable of producing effects of great splendor, richness, and color. This is true of an Ascension hymn which pictures the Risen Lord reigning in the midst of apocalyptic majesty, *Te centies mille legionum angeli*

(A.H. 27.88). The poet is indebted especially to the fourth chapter of the Revelation of St. John, but he handles the text with skill and power.

As a final selection from the *Proprium de tempore*, a fine hymn of nine stanzas for Pentecost should be mentioned, *Sacrate veni spiritus* (A.H. 27.98). True to the spirit of the Hymnal, it is totally lacking in that subjective beauty which distinguishes the favorite medieval hymns on this theme. It is rather a narrative of the events which took place on the Day of Pentecost, as found in the Acts of the Apostles.

Looking back upon a cycle of seasonal hymns such as the Mozarabic, one must recall that the Church Year as it is known today was still in the process of evolution. The relative simplicity of the annual course is but a fresh evidence of the age of the Hymnal.

Commune de Tempore¹⁹

The English liturgist, Edmund Bishop, held the opinion that the Mozarabic Breviary contained sources from which the early Christian secular services of morning and evening worship might be reconstructed.²⁰ If this is the case, evidence from hymnology should support his view. Only through the veil of monastic practice are the most ancient hymns discerned, hymns which were adopted by the pioneers and founders of western monasticism for the offices of the canonical hours. So, in the section before us, six were enjoined by Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), namely, *Mediae noctis tempus est*, *Aeterne rerum conditor* (Ambrose), *Fulgentis auctor aetheris*, *Deus qui certis legibus*, *Christe, qui lux est et dies*, and *Christe precamur adnue*. Aurelian of Arles (d. 551) recommended *Splendor paternae gloriae* (Ambrose) and *Aeterne lucis conditor*.²¹ Three more are contained in the old Benedictine cycle, *Certum tenentes ordinem*, *Dicamus laudes Domino*, and *Perfectum trinum numerum*. The addition of *Cultor dei memento* from *Cathemerinon VI* of Prudentius and three authentic Ambrosian hymns not included in the old cycle, makes a total of fifteen of the oldest Latin hymns known today. Insofar as these represent secular usage prior to the establishment of monastic rules, they may be regarded as echoes of ancient morning and evening services and, taken in connection with other parts of the breviary offices, may serve to strengthen Bishop's thesis.

The later, or ninth-century, hymn cycle is also represented in the Mozarabic Breviary, or, to put it the other way, Mozarabic sources throw light upon the nature of the ninth-century cycle. In fact, it contains all but six of the hymns used in the entire cycle, distributed as follows: *Proprium de tempore*, one;²² *Commune de tempore*, twenty-

two; *Commune sanctorum*, seven.²³ Thus the Hymnal is constructed, at least in part, from the practice common to western monasticism. As to the place of origin, Blume claims, although tentatively, a Mozarabic source for the three hymns from the old cycle, cited above. The third varies from the original in the opening line alone, which reads *Perfecto trino numero*. From the ninth-century cycle he claims *Mediae noctis tempore*, the Mozarabic original perhaps of *Mediae noctis tempus est*. Aside from the change in the opening line, eight of the thirteen stanzas are identical in the two versions and two other stanzas are only slightly altered.

One of the most interesting problems arising in connection with the later hymn cycle affects the six vesper hymns which commemorate the work of creation described in the book of Genesis: *Lucis creator optime*, *Immense caeli conditor*, *Telluris ingens conditor*, *Caeli Deus sanctissime*, *Magnae Deus potentiae*, and *Plasmator hominis Deus*. They appear in the Mozarabic collection with the additional hymn, *Rerum Deus fons omnium* (A.H. 27.101), for the seventh day of rest. It is impossible to determine whether this circumstance indicates the Mozarabic origin of the other six, or whether the seventh was dropped for some reason from the usual series. Blume prefers the solution that some Spanish poet added the seventh to complete the borrowed cycle in a similar verse form.²⁴

Commune Sanctorum²⁵

The hymns of this group like those of the *Commune de tempore* are founded upon the early hymnal lists. In fact, the correspondence is identical with that of the ninth-century cycle which is made up of the following: the two Ambrosian hymns, *Aeterna Christi munera* (also in the old cycle) and *Jesu corona virginum*; also *Martyr Dei qui unicum*, *Rex gloriose martyrum*, *Sanctorum meritis inclita gaudia*, *Virginis proles opifexque matris*, and *Summe confessor sacer et sacerdos*. For the last Blume claims a Mozarabic origin in spite of its wide usage outside of Spain. Six others, undoubtedly Mozarabic, complete the series of hymns used for the general praise of saints.

The importance of the group as a whole was very great in actual practice. Hymns for the Common of Saints were used throughout the church for the festivals of specific saints before the multiplication of hymns for occasional purposes, and were constantly relied upon for feast days, even when the appropriate hymns existed.

One cannot help observing that the purity of early tradition is maintained in the hymns of Mozarabic authorship, of which *Laudes sanctorum martyrum*, in eight stanzas, is an excellent illustration. It

stands comparison with the best of martyr hymns, ancient or modern, as an expression of the martyr spirit blended from courage, joy and faith.

Laudes sanctorum martyrum,
Quos sacra fecit passio
Christi conformes glorie,
Puris canamus mentibus.
(A.H. 27.258)

In Variis Occasionibus²⁶

To many commentators, the collection of hymns for special occasions is the most significant in the entire hymnal.²⁷ They vary widely in purpose and content, disclosing the secular custom and religious practice of the period. The reader is present, so to speak, when the restoration of a church is celebrated, or the anniversary of its consecration; when a bishop or king is consecrated, or his birthday honored; when the army goes forth to war, or the New Year opens; when the harvest is gathered, or when times of pestilence, drought, flood, or warfare demand the response of national prayer; finally, when rejoicing marks the occasion of marriage, or sorrow that of illness or death.

In these days when the restoration of places of worship is a matter of deep concern to the faithful of many creeds throughout the world, the hymn *O beata Hierusalem* voices an aspiration not restricted to medieval Spain, the scene of almost continuous destructive wars.

Hic tui altaris aram
cum decoris gloria
Rite rursus reparatam,
rex superna, visita,
Hic tua virtus redundet,
hic honor refulgeat.
(A.H. 27.264, stanza 6)

The two hymns *In ordinatione episcopi* are one in metrical style and poetic treatment, *Adest diei, Christe, consecratio* and *Verus redemptor, Christe, lumen luminis* (A.H. 27.267, 265). These are glowing hymns colored with oriental tradition and imagery derived from the Old Testament description of Aaron's robes in the 28th chapter of Exodus.

In Visigothic Spain kingship was invested with a sacred character, a concept familiar in all ages. The second stanza of the consecration hymn *Inclite rex magne regum* (A.H. 27.269), which refers to

the anointing in the words *Unguine sacro nitescat*, is one of the extant sources for this ceremony among the Visigoths.²⁸ The royal birthday is celebrated with the hymn *Anni peracto circulo* (*A.H.* 27.269) which may contain a hint of the elective principle of kingship,²⁹ fundamental in Germanic political thought, as expressed in the fourth stanza:

Maturitate temporis
Honore ditas regio.

The departure of armed forces to war is marked by religious observance accompanied by hymns. *O verum regimen, Christe, fidelium* (*A.H.* 27.269) is a long and fervent appeal for the protection of the army and the confusion of the enemy, even as the Israelites under Moses had safely passed through the Red Sea with the conquered Egyptians perishing in their wake. The close expresses a thought cherished by all men in time of war, the longed-for and victorious return.

Three harvest hymns are also newly edited, two of which deserve mention. *Inclito regi polorum* (*A.H.* 27.272) is built upon the acrostic *Immus primitiarum* and is devoted in part to the offering of the first fruits, but largely to prayers for the people. *Rex angelorum, Domine* (*A.H.* 27.273), a much finer hymn, also combines the two themes and adds prayers for the rulers as well, making the common pattern of the hymn for harvest thanksgiving familiar today.

A series of seven hymns for times of disaster, flood, drought, or war are full of interest. They may not be the work of a single poet but are cast in one mould of thought and intention. *Rex aeternae, Deus, fons pietatis, Iram, qua merito sternimur, auctor, and Huius supplicium pestis amarae* (*A.H.* 27.275, 276, 278) implore aid against plague, the ravages of which are vividly described:

Infantes, iuvenes, sexus uterque,
Aetas ipsa senum cignea iamque,
Lactantes etiam ubera matrum
Prostrantur pariter vulnere diro.
(*A.H.* 27.275, stanza 10)

Two petitions in time of flood or drought are poetic counterparts built upon these contrasted themes. Powers of graphic description are exhibited in both.

Obduxere polum nubila caeli
Absconduntque diem sole fugato,
Noctes continuas sidere nudas
Et lunae viduas carpinus olim.
(*A.H.* 27.278)

Squalent arva soli pulvere multo,
 Pallet siccus ager, terra fatiscit,
 Nullus ruris honos, nulla venustas,
 Quando nulla viret gratia florum.

(*A.H.* 27.279)

Walpole, commenting upon the second hymn speaks of the Virgilian echoes in which it abounds and discusses its authorship and literary merits without making an independent judgment.³⁰

Man's destructive power in war is no less dreadful than that of nature. The final poems of the series are petitions in time of conflict, *Tristes nunc populi, Christe redemptor* and *Saevus bella serit barbarus horrens* (*A.H.* 27.281, 282).

Dire namque fremens, en furor atrox
 Gentis finitimae arva minatur
 Saeve barbarico murmure nostra
 Vastari, perimens ut lupus agnos.

(*A.H.* 27.281, stanza 2)

Urbes urit edax barbarus ignis,
 Communesque domos urit et almas;
 Vinctos praedo senes ducit, ephebos,
 Nuptas et viduas atque puellas.

(*A.H.* 27.282, stanza 6)

It is a tribute to the genius of this unknown poet that one turns from the despairing scenes which frame his thought with a sense of relief.

The marriage hymn from the occasional group, *Tuba clarifica, plebs Christi, revoca* (*A.H.* 27.283), although commonplace, is at least intended to provoke a joyful mood which is accentuated by a rapid meter and internal rhymes. The names of musical instruments which are mentioned, *tympalum*, *cithara*, *cymbalum*, *cinara*, *nabulum* and others, may be of interest in the study of this period.

The Hymnal closes on a note of solemnity recalling in a series of hymns for the ill and for the dead the healing power of the divine Lord and his triumph over death, namely, *Christe, caelestis medicina patris*, *Christe, rex, mundi creator*, and *Hic functionis est dies* (*A.H.* 27.284, 286, 286). The praise of God which is enjoined at the opening of the Hymnal in the *Prologus hymnorum* is finally carried into the world beyond the grave.

Hinc et recepto corpore
 Resurgat hic ad gloriam
 Te mentis aucta gratia

Laudans perennis incola.

(*A.H.* 27.286, stanza 5)

Literary and Liturgical Tradition

The authorship and literary traditions of Mozarabic hymns proceed from Ambrose, early anonymous writers, and Prudentius, as we have seen. Anonymous hymn writers not only in Spain but throughout the west, who followed the Ambrosian model, are amply represented in the ninth-century cycle, taken over almost entirely in the Hymnal. The influence of Prudentius is no less marked. Entire hymns or centos were used in actual practice, many excerpts were incorporated in new hymns, and phraseology reminiscent of his work abounds everywhere.

Between the fourth and seventh century the church in Spain experienced many vicissitudes. Threatened by survivals of pagan cults, local superstitions, and the heresy of the Priscillianists, it was called upon during the fifth century to absorb the Visigothic invaders who had been converted to Arian Christianity. From the reign of Euric (466-483) to that of Recared (586-601) the Catholic faith battled with the Arian for supremacy and finally triumphed in 589 when the Third Council of Toledo ruled in favor of the Catholic position.³¹ During the seventh century there is evidence once more of a literary and liturgical movement initiated by Isidore of Seville and other great bishops of the Visigothic Church, supported by the councils and the schools.

The name of Isidore, Archbishop of Seville (d. 636), was attached to the Mozarabic rites by Ximenes although they had originated prior to the seventh century. The name signifies rather the dominating position held by Isidore in ecclesiastical affairs. In his *Etymologiae* and his *De officiis ecclesiasticis* he considers the subject of music and liturgy.³² His *Regula monachorum*, built partly on older rules observed in Spain, is an evidence of his interest in monastic reform.³³ As presiding bishop of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) he was at the height of his reputation.³⁴ Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631-651), his pupil and literary executor, bears witness to his fame.³⁵ Leander, older brother of Isidore and his predecessor in the see of Seville, had created a tradition of liturgical interest which was continued with great success, not only by Isidore and Braulio, but by Eugenius II, Primate of Toledo (646-657), Ildefonsus who held the same rank (659-667), and others. The canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo for which Isidore may have been responsible, require uniformity of the rites and offices throughout Spain and Gaul.³⁶ The thirteenth canon upholds the validity and appropriateness of hymns by Christian authors against

those who would restrict the hymnody of the church to the Psalms of the Old Testament.³⁷ At the Eighth Council of Toledo (653) it is recommended not to ordain candidates for the clergy who are ignorant of the psalms, canticles and hymns.³⁸

In the episcopal and monastic schools of that day, centered around Isidore, Braulio, Eugenius II, and the Abbot Spera-in-deo, liturgical study and writing were active.³⁹ New masses were composed for the feasts of saints. The offices were enriched with new hymns, but very few of those produced in the course of this renaissance of liturgical interest were written by known authors. Quiricus, Bishop of Barcelona, wrote the hymn *Fulget hic honor sepulchri* (A.H. 27.167) for St. Eulalia of Barcelona.⁴⁰ Eugenius II or Ildefonsus wrote *Sanctissimae Leucadiae* (A.H. 27.213) for St. Leocadia.⁴¹ Braulio wrote *O magne rerum, Christe, rector* for St. Aemilianus.⁴² It is estimated that anonymous hymns numbering at least forty were also written in the seventh century, and almost as many after the Moslem invasions⁴³ when the old musical and liturgical traditions were fostered by Eulogius, Archbishop of Cordova. A pupil of Spera-in-deo and a noted scholar in his own right, Eulogius was interested in the collection of Latin manuscripts for Mozarabic libraries and in literary work. The acrostic hymn honoring St. Euphemia, *Ecce micantia veluti sidera* (A.H. 27.160), bearing his name has been attributed to him. He wrote the *Memorialis sanctorum*,⁴⁴ including the records of the ninth-century martyrs whose ranks he himself finally joined.

During the rule of Mohammed I (852-886) an outbreak of persecution of the Christians took place, a rare occurrence under Moslem government. A wave of revolt in Merida and resistance in other cities aroused his vengeance. There were zealots, too, who by deliberately insulting the Prophet subjected themselves to punishment for blasphemy.⁴⁵ At this time Eulogius with his friend Alvarus, a rich and scholarly noble and churchman of Cordova,⁴⁶ incited the people against Mohammed I. Eulogius, charged with concealing an accused Christian woman, Leocritia, was arrested and executed by the sword in 859.⁴⁷ The hymn in his honor, *Almi nunc revehit festa prolifera* (A.H. 27.169), must have been written very shortly after these events, perhaps by Alvarus, for the acrostic *Albarus te rogat sa(l)ves* opens the lines. It is almost entirely free from the traditional exaggerations of the martyr theme and is akin to the new poetry of the Carolingian revival.

The writers who frequented the court of Charlemagne or lived in his time are often thought of as the first to restore the continuity of Latin poetry in the Middle Ages after the barbarian inroads. We

learn from the perusal of Mozarabic verse that the revival had already begun in Spain at least a century earlier. Contacts between Gaul and Spain were not restricted to the pass at Roncesvalles, and under the rule of Moslem princes friendly intercourse existed. The hymn, *O Petre, petra ecclesiae* (A.H. 27.228), attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia, was used in Spain and, on the other hand, Alcuin borrowed from Mozarabic sources in reforming the rites of the Frankish kingdom.⁴⁸

Nothing in the preceding pages should be interpreted as setting off the Mozarabic Hymnal from those used in other European countries at the same period, since the constant element in them all is substantial. The variable element consists of those hymns of Mozarabic authorship which occur here and there in all parts of the Hymnal, but which are found in greater numbers in the *Proprium de tempore* and the *Proprium de sanctis*. The hymns *In variis occasionibus* are absolutely unique. To a certain extent this is true of every country. Hymns have accumulated gradually and have been drawn upon by liturgists who were working toward uniformity of national rites. One comparison, which will suffice to illustrate the general principle, may be made with the Sarum rites established by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (1078-1099). The hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which was contemporary with the Mozarabic Church, formed the nucleus for the Sarum Breviary, but they did not offer a tradition of the praise of local saints such as that offered by the Mozarabic sources.⁴⁹

Again, the objective nature of early medieval Latin hymns everywhere has been repeatedly stressed, and Spain is not exceptional. The significant aspect of Mozarabic hymns lies in their individuality, the result of the distinctive culture and the historical environment in which they were created, and, finally, in the light they shed during a period which is popularly termed the Dark Ages.

NOTES

¹ Dom P. B. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* (Regensburg, 1862-1879, 5 vols. in 3) 2².192. "Wie Spanien das Land der Bienen und der Kerzen, so ist es auch das Land der Hymnen."

² Comprehensive articles on this subject with bibliographies are available as follows: H. Jenner, "Mozarabic Rite," *Cath. Enc.* 9.611-623; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe (Liturgie)," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* 10.2518-2543; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe (La Liturgie)," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et la Liturgie* 12¹.390-491.

³ Alphonzo Ortiz, *Missale mixtum etc.* (Toledo, 1500); *Breviarium etc.* (Toledo, 1502).

⁴ A. Lesley, S.J., *Missale mixtum* (Rome, 1775) = *Liturgica mozarabica secundum regulam beati Isidori, pars prior*, Migne, PL 85 (Paris, 1850); A. Lorenzana, *Breviarium gothicum* (Madrid, 1775) = *Liturgica mozarabica, pars posterior*, Migne, PL 86 (Paris, 1850).

⁵ Among others, Dom G. Morin, *Liber comicus in Anecdota Maredsolana* 1 (Maredsous, 1893); J. Bianchini, *Orationale Gothicum* in J. Pinius, *Liturgica antiqua Hispanica* 2 (Rome, 1746); Dom M. Férotin, *Liber ordinum* and *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum* in *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica* 5, 6 (Paris, 1904, 1912); *Antiphonarium mozarabicum de la catedral de Leon, editado por los Padres benedictines de Silos* (Leon, 1928).

⁶ G. Dreves receives the credit for unearthing these, *A.H.* 27, Introd., 20.

⁷ "Origen de los himnos mozárabes," *Bulletin hispanique* 28 (Bordeaux, 1926) 5-21, 113-39, 209-45, 305-20; "Los himnos mozárabes," *Revista ecles. Silos* 58 (1927) 56-61, reviewed in full in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1927) 316.

⁸ Blume accepts Biraghi's list of authentic Ambrosian hymns: L. Biraghi, *Inni sinceri e carmi di Sant' Ambrogio* (Milano, 1862).

⁹ Cabrol, *DACL* (see note 2) 12¹.412.

¹⁰ *Analecta Hymnica* 27.61. All hymns cited from this volume hereafter will be similarly identified.

¹¹ The *Canticle of the Three Holy Children*, *Benedicite omnia opera*, Dan. 3:57.

¹² Blume edits forty-three hymns from a total of eighty-one.

¹³ For the hymn cycles, see *Anal. Hymn.* 51, Introd., xx-xxi; R. Messenger, "Whence the Ninth Century Hymnal?" *TAPA* 69 (1938) 446-64.

¹⁴ A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, Eng., 1922).

¹⁵ Walpole, *ibid.* 127.

¹⁶ Gams, *op cit.* (see note 1) 2².261-98. Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo (782-783), was a prominent leader of the Adoptionists.

¹⁷ *A.H.* 27.76, note.

¹⁸ Férotin, *Liber ordinum* (see note 5) 178-187.

¹⁹ Blume edits thirty-seven hymns from a total of fifty-eight.

²⁰ E. Bishop, *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites* (London, 1924) 57-60.

²¹ For these lists see *A.H.* 51, Introd., xx.

²² See p. 51.

²³ See p. 55.

²⁴ *A.H.* 27.44.

²⁵ Blume edits seven from a total of seventeen hymns.

²⁶ Blume edits twenty-four from a total of twenty-six hymns.

²⁷ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), 128-9.

²⁸ The rites of consecration are not extant. Information derived from records and inscriptions, including the three hymns in this section, have been assembled by Dom Férotin in *Liber ordinum* (see note 5), 506-15.

²⁹ De Urbel, "Origen etc." (see note 7), 234.

³⁰ Walpole, *op. cit.* (see note 14), 397-8.

³¹ Mansi (see note 29), 3.977-92.

³² Migne, *PL* 82, cols. 163-9, 252-60; 83, cols. 737-826.

³³ Migne, *PL* 83, cols. 867-94; Heimbucher, *op. cit.* (see note 25), 203.

³⁴ LeClercq, *op. cit.* (see note 25), 304-5.

³⁵ Migne, *PL* 81, cols. 16-7.

³⁶ Canon 2, Mansi 10.616.

³⁷ Mansi 10.622-3.

³⁸ Mansi 10.1218.

³⁹ C. H. Lynch, *St. Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa* (Wash., D. C., 1938), 20-1; LeClercq, *op. cit.* (see note 25), 348.

⁴⁰ See stanza 13.

⁴¹ Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 1.339.

⁴² Appears in the *Proprium de sanetis*.

⁴³ De Urbel. "Los himnos mozárabes" (see n. 7).

⁴⁴ Migne, *PL* 115, cols. 731-818.

⁴⁵ R. P. A. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, translated by F. G. Stokes (London, 1913), ch. vi.

⁴⁶ For his writings including a life of Eulogius, see Gams, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 2².336ff.

⁴⁷ R. Altamira, "Western Caliphate," *Camb. Med. Hist.*, 3.416-7.

⁴⁸ E. Bishop, *Spanish Symptoms in Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 168.

⁴⁹ *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. J. Stevenson, *Surtees Soc. Pub.*, 23 (Durham, 1851). Sts. Cuthbert, Dunstan, and Edmund are the only local saints represented.

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